

NOTES

U P O N

*yes*

Stephen College.

Grounded Principally upon his own  
Declarations and Confessions,

And freely submitted to

PUBLIQUE CENSURE.

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By Roger L'Estrange.

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The Second Edition.

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L O N D O N,

Printed for Joanna Brome, at the Gun at the West-  
end of St. Pauls Church-Yard, 1681:

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## To the Reader.

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**I**T is not the part of a Christian, nor indeed of a Man, to Insult upon the Miserable, either in their Memories, or in their Persons: Beside that the Criminal here in question has already satisfied Publique Justice, and is gone to his Place to receive according to his Works. This does not hinder yet, but that a man may honestly endeavour the putting of a Check to those Clamorous Out-crys that are daily sent forth against the Government upon this occasion; as if the whole business of College were only a Perjurious Combination of Papists against Protestants, in the Person of that Wretched Malefactor; and the Protestant Religion to stand or fall with the Protestant Joyner. It is the Intent now of these Papers, to lay open the Malice and the Falshood of these Calumnies: Not so much for the Vindication of the Proceeding, as for the Disabusing of the Common People; for the Best Argument for Authority is the Reason of the Laws; and in these Cases the Vigorous Execution of them upon the Seditious, is the only effectual Remedy:

It is not that I pretend to Illustrate the Justice of the Court, or of the Verdict, by any Additional Remarques

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Gen. Rev. August 29, 1730 Bower

## To the Reader.

of my own, but effectually (upon other Grounds and Evidences) to bring the Offender to a new hearing; where in I shall remit my self to the Judgment and Conscience of an Indifferent Reader, whether there be not Matter sufficient, from whence fairly to Infer, and to Presume him Guilty of the most material Parts of his Accusation, even without the aid of any thing that was produc'd against him at his Tryal.

As for those that are curious to be more particularly inform'd, I must refer them to the Printed Tryal it self; and so I shall Close up my Preface with my Lord Chief Justices Opinion upon the Verdict.

Lord Chief Justice (to the Pris'ner.) These things when I look upon them, and consider the complexion of your defence, it makes an easie Proof have Credit. But I think there was a full Proof in your Case; yet I say, if there had been a great deal less Proof, the Jury might with Justice have found you Guilty. And because you now declare your self Innocent of all you are charged with, I think my self bound to declare here in Vindication of the Country, and in Vindication of the Justice of the Court, that it was a Verdict well given, and to the satisfaction of the Court, and I did not find my Brothers did dislike it. This I say to you out of Charity, that you may incline your mind to a submission to the Justice that hath overtaken you, and that you may enter into Charity with all men, and prepare your self for another

NOTES



# NOTES

UPON

## Stephen College.

§. 1. *The Proceeding against College Represented as a Design against the Protestant Religion.*



THE main stress of the Cause here in Controversie, lies upon a Pretended Zeal for Religion, and in such a manner too, as if the very Name of a Protestant were a *Supersede* as for a *Traitor*, and an Exemption from the Ordinary Methods of Law and Justice. [*This Design (says College) is not only against Me, but against all the Protestants. Tryal, p. 5.*] And again [*This is a most Horrid Conspiracy to take away my life; and it will not stop here; for it is against all the Protestants in England. Ibid. p. 6.*] [*'Tis time to have a Care (says Aaron Smith) when our Lives and Estates and All are beset here. Ibid. p. 13.*] [*My Lord (says College again) I do not question but to prove this one of the Hellishest Conspiracies that ever was upon the face of the Earth: And these*

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these the most Notorious Wicked Men; an absolute design to destroy all the Protestants in England, that have had the Courage to oppose the Popish Plot. Ibid. p. 36.] And then in his last Speech, [I am as certainly Murder'd by the hands of the Papists as Sr. Edmundbury Godfrey himself was, though the thing is not seen.] And once again in his other Speech, Printed for Edith College, [I dye (says he) by the hands of the Enemies of the Great God, his Christ, his Servants, his Gospel, and my Country, to which I willingly submit, and earnestly pray mine may be the last Protestants Blood that Murdering Church of Rome may shed in Christendom.]

It is no wonder if the Ringing of this Emphatical Reflection [*the Blood of Protestants; a Design upon all the Protestants of England, &c.* over and over in the Ears of the Multitude, create Unquiet Thoughts, and work some extraordinary Effects upon the minds of the common People. It will be well therefore to ask Stephen College what he means by that Protestant Religion that is so much Endanger'd; and who and where those Papists are, upon whom he Charges this Hellish Conspiracy: for we have none as yet in sight that can fall within the compass of his Challenge; but his Majesty himself, and the Ordinary Ministers of Justice acting according to the Known Laws, and in the Regular Methods of Judicial Proceedings. Now upon a due Examination of this matter, there will be found a great difference betwixt Colleges Protestants and Ours; and betwixt Our Papists and His: So that, the Snare lies in the double acceptance of the Word, by which they labour to Impose upon the World, that the Schismatiques are the only True-Protestants, and those of the Church of England, in a Confederacy against them with the Papists: But we shall take Colleges Religion as he has deliver'd it with his own lips; and gather from thence what

what may be the *Cause*, and the *Profession* that he contends for.

## S. 2. The meaning of Colleges Protestants.

**I** Was ever a Protestant; (*says College*) I was born a Protestant; I have liv'd so, and so, by the Grace of God, I'll dye: Of the Church of England, according to the Best Reformation of the Church, from all Idolatry, from all Superstition, or any thing that is contrary to the Gospel of our Blessed Lord and Saviour. (Colleges last Speech.)

In this Clause he Declares himself upon his Death, to be a Protestant of the Church of England, according to the Best reformation, &c. Now there is No Church of England but that which is Established by Law, both in Doctrine and Discipline; unless you will make the Dissenting Protestants, to be Assenters, and Consenters; and Feake's, Owen's, Ralphson's, Baxter's, Meade's, Jenkins's Separate Congregations to be severally the Church of England; which no man certainly in his Right Wits will pretend to do. So that either he dy'd a true Son of the Established Church of England, according to the Genuine Import of the Expression; (and as most manifestly he would have it thought, he did) or else his Design was to go off with a Desperate Equivocation betwixt his Teeth, if he was any other than what he Pretended to be: and it comes all to a Case, as to the Truth of his Profession, whether ye take him the One way, or the Other. There may be Another Note upon it, which is, that he would give to understand by This Profession that he had always Liv'd, and that  
now

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now he dy'd, the same sort of Protestant; which is a Point-Blank-Contradiction to that which now follows.

Upon the Sheriffs Desiring him, for the satisfaction of the World, to declare what Church he meant; whether Presbyterian, or Independant, or the Church of England; or what? His answer was [*Good Mr. Sheriff, for your satisfaction, for Twenty years and above, I was under the Presbyterian Ministry, till His Majesties Restauration. Then, I was Conformable to the Church of England, when that was Restor'd; and so continu'd, till such time as I saw Persecution upon the Dissenting People, and undue things done in their Meeting-Places. Then I went among them, to know what kind of People those were; and I take God to Witness, since that time I have used their Meetings, viz. the Presbyterians; others very seldom, and the Church of England. (Last Speech.)*]

By this it appears that College was a Presbyterian before the Late Rebellion, as well as quite thorough it. He says nothing, what brought him over to the Church of England at last; but that it was the Persecution of the Dissenters that carried him off again: And yet he told us but just before, that he was of That Reformation which was Freeest from Superstition and Idolatry; though there was nothing of that, we see, in this Pretended Cause of his Relapse. The Remainder of this Paragraph is *Mysterious*, and *Perplexed*; and there is too much Reason to fear that it was Intricated on purpose that he might be Understood one way, and Mean another. But however, if there be any thing to be made out of it at all, it is, that he dy'd of the Presbyterian Persuasion. I would not force any thing, to Discredit the words of a dying man; but if any man can reconcile this Passage, either to it self, or with several other Expressions of his in Prison, some two or three days before his death, they will do him a Kind-

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Kind, and a Charitable Office ; for I must confess, I cannot bring them to any sort of Consistence.

A matter of two or three days before his Execution, two Divines of eminent Piety and Worth, gave the Prisoner a Visit, and among other Discourses suitable to his Condition, and the occasion, It was ask'd him, *Q. What Church are ye of ?* *A.* Of the Church of England. *Q. As by Law Established ?* *A.* No, I am not. *Q. How d'ye mean the Church of England then ?* *A.* Presbyterian? *A.* No. *Q. An Independent ?* *A.* No. *Q. An Anabaptist ?* *A.* No. *Q. A Quaker ?* *A.* No. *Q. Where's that Church in Christendom then, that you will own your self a Member of ?* *A.* That's to my self; I will not tell ye. And he gave at another time his Reason for't, *If it were known* (saith he) *what Church I am of, my faults would be laid upon my whole Church.* How does this agree now with his Profession at the Place of Execution? Or where shall we find that *Individuum Vagum* of Colleges Protestants?

There were some Circumstances concerning my Lady Rochester, of which hereafter ; and others grounded upon the Information of a *Somerset-shire* Gentleman, that have prevail'd upon many People to take him for a Papist, which Information runs thus.

That the Informant Lodging at the House of one P. a *Vicnaler* in *Wich-street*, in *Michaelmas Term*, 1677. there came into the Room where he was (upon a Sunday in the Evening) a certain Person who was called by the name of College; and sitting down there, enter'd into a discourse concerning the Lord of Rochester, whereupon the Informant told College that he heard the Lady Rochester was turn'd Papist; who thereupon demanded, what he meant by a Papist? to which he answer'd, One that maintain'd the Tenents of the Church of Rome, mentioning some of them; as Purgatory, Prayers to Saints, &c. whereupon the other under-



took to defend the said Tenents, and with great Vehemence told him, that he would bring him Books the next day that should overthrow all Arguments to the contrary; And told him farther, that his name was Golege, and not College; and that he had wrought for my Lord of Rochester at Eumore: But the Informant never saw him before, nor since, only his Landlord told him that he was a Joyner, and liv'd at the back-side of his House.

Colleges Answer to this Point was, that he believ'd this might be his Brother, who was a Joyner by Trade, and dy'd a Papist, in October, 1678. He wrote his name Golege; Lodg'd near Wick-street, and (as he conceiv'd) had done work for my Lord Rochester at Eumore; which seems to have been the ground of that mistake. Beside that, College had several times Confess'd that he had strong and frequent Impulses on his spirit against Popery: Insomuch that if he did but see any Book in defence of it, he would presently set all his work aside to get it answer'd; declaring himself also against it at the place of Execution, in these words, [*I do with all my soul, and did ever since I knew what Religion was, Abhor and Deteſt the Church of Rome, as Pernicious and Destructive of Humane Society.*]

I shall leave it now to the Readers choice whether a Papist, or not? Although for my part, I am strongly persuaded of the Negative; but what kind of Protestant to make of him, we are yet to seek. We shall see next how he stood affected to the Church of England; but so as to separate his Opinions from his practices, which are reserv'd for another place.

He received his Sentence, Aug. 18. and Suffer'd upon the 31. In this Interim the Bishop of Oxford provided all that was possible for his Relief and Consolation, with infinite Compassion and Honour; and several eminent

Pious



Pious and Learned Divines went to Administer unto him in his Distress. The Reverend Dr. *Marshall* went to him first, who being call'd away by business, Dr. *Hall* supply'd his place, from whose hand he receiv'd the Blessed Sacrament soon after his Sentence: but his Devotional-duties were still distracted with some interjected Excursions of his own; and he was heard to say, that *as he did not disdain the prayers of the Church, so he did not delight in such prayers, neither could he joyn heartily with those that did not pray by the Spirit.* It was observed by one of these Reverend Gentlemen that assisted him, that when he came to the Prayers for the *King, Queen,* and the *Bishops,* instead of *Amen,* he said *Lord have mercy upon them,* though he joyn'd in an *Amen* to all the rest. Two days before his Execution, one of them desir'd him to prepare himself for the Holy *Eucharist,* to whom he return'd this Answer. *It is no more than a Shell and Form of your own making; as if I eat a piece of Bread, and drank a glass of Wine, and at the same time remember'd my Saviour.* In this manner he refus'd it: Nor would he suffer this Gentleman to pray with him at all upon the day of his Execution; declaring that nothing gave him satisfaction but *Extemporary prayer.* The Doctor Administer'd to him by the *Liturgy,* and so did Dr. *Marshall* pray with him likewise; but still he would have sallies also of his own. Little *Schismatical Fanemay* tells a long story, (and against himself too) (*Num. 42.*) where he says that *College* was urg'd with divers Arguments to make a *publique Confession*; whereas it was only propounded to him to Confess, *Conditionally,* and not *Absolutely,* as he maliciously represents it. True it is, that he gave hopes at first of some tractable inclinations toward the Entertainment of the *Liturgy*; but upon *Munday Morning* there was found with him a certain unknown *Quaker*;

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and from that time till the *next Wednesday* (the day of his Execution) he was harden'd against all Attempts; and this Obstinacy of his was said to arise from a suggestion of the *Quakers*, that without dashing the Credit of those witnesses, the Protestant Cause would be in danger to be lost. He press'd very earnestly that *Titmarsh*, the *Preaching-Anabaptist-Tanner*, might come and Pray with him; and he was privately sent for, but not suffer'd to come at him.

You have here an account of the *Protestant-Joyners Religion* from his own lips, which is Resolv'd at last into a meer *Enthusiastical Whimsie*. The *Quaker* pleases him; the *Anabaptist* pleases him; and yet he is neither the one nor the other, nor a *Presbyterian*; nor an *Independent*; nor a *Church-of-England-man*, and yet a Friend to *all* but the *Right*; and Conciliable even to those Opinions that are yet at an Inconciliable Variance one with another. Let the Reader now determine under these Circumstances, whether *that Protestant Persuasion* that makes such a noise in this Controversie, be a *Religion* or a *Faction*; or how it is possible either to *Destroy* or to *Defend that Religion* which is no where to be found.

### S. 3. What is meant by the Papists in Conspiracy against Colleges Protestants.

THE *Protestant Joyner* has left us at a great loss in the fore-going Section, about the meaning of his *Protestant Religion*: But then he makes some amends for't in telling us very plainly what he means by the *Papists*. It is a part of his *Charge*, That he reckon'd the *Church*, the *King*, and all his *Adherents* for *Papists*; and

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we have his own Words and Papers to prove every jot as much as that amounts to, even to the minutest Circumstances of the Accusation.

[This (says he) is not the first time, my Lord, the Papists have design'd to take away my life; though it be the first time they went about to take it away by a Law. Tryal, p. 39.] What is this now to say, but that the Ordinary Ministers of Justice, in the Orderly Execution of their Duties, are Murtherers and Papists. And it is yet more explicitly set forth in the first Section, as we have seen already. How often has he been heard, even in the presence of Mr. Charleton of St. Pauls Church-yard, to whom he appeals from Mr. Masters's Evidence, that old Rowly (his Cypher for the King) was a Papist? and it was his common discourse in Coffee-Houses at a venture, as numbers of Persons are able and ready to justify, if need should require it. What's the meaning of his drawing the King with Two Faces in his Rarée-Show, one towards Popery, the other towards Protestantism? And the Two Houses at his Majesties Back, in a Chest of Rome (as he calls it) in the Ballad? What's the meaning of the English Clergy Riding Tantivy after a Jesuit in another of his Prints? With these words of Explanation, Room for the Church? For Rome Boys: with this Conceit at the Church-door, Out Phanatiques; In, Popery: And the Bishop of Bath and Wells Personated in it, with a Patch on his cheek, and the mark upon him of a Church-Papist? Or what say ye of the same Bishop again, kissing the Popes Toe in another of his Pieces, Entituled Hats for Caps; with the whole Hierarchy in't, making Court to his Holiness for Preferment? And then there's the Learned device of a Scale to the Papacy, 1. Servitor. 2. Pupils. 3. Batchelor. 4. Master. 5. Priest. 6. Doctor. 7. Dean. 8. Bishop. 9. Cardinal. 10. Pope. With these words to  
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[The Gradual way to make a Pope Infallably: All done by the Sign of the Croſs, and a little School-Conjuring. Here's abundantly enough to ſhew *What*, and *Who* they are that he calls *Papiſts*, without need of any other Evidence or Explication. But it will be ſaid perhaps that theſe *Pictures*, and eſpecially the *Raree Show* are not yet prov'd to be *Colleges*.]

### § 4. The Libellous Pictures, and Particularly the Raree Show prov'd to be Colleges.

**M**Y Lord, (ſays College) as to the Papers Charg'd upon me to be mine, I declare I know not of them. Tryal, pag. 74. I cannot deny but that they were in my Houſe; but that I was the Author, or did take them in, is as great a Miſtake as ever was made. Ibid. I know nothing of the Printing of them, nor was I the Author of them. Ibid. I do declare I know nothing of the Original, the Printer, nor the Author. p. 75. There's a great deal more of this ſtuff in the Tryal, to the ſame purpoſe; but I ſhall lay no hold of any thing he ſays in his Defence, ſave where he Confeſſes. But it will be allow'd, I hope, that ſome weight may be laid upon what he delivers in that which is publiſh'd under the Title of *A True Copy of the Dying Words of Mr. Stephen College, left in Writing under his own hand, and confirmed by him at the time of Execution, Aug. 31. 1681. at Oxford, publiſh'd by his own Relations, and Printed for Edith College.*

As to the Printed Papers (ſays he) which Dugdale produced in the Court, I do declare, I never ſaw them, call'd the Raree Show, and Intercepted Letter [in his hand] before that time, (the meaning of theſe words [in his hand]. I do not underſtand.) and therefore could not, and did not decypher any of the Pictures to him. It's utterly  
false.

false. I was not the Author of those Verses call'd the Raree Show, neither do I know who was, or the Printer, or ever own'd my self the Author of either of them Papers to him in my life.

Now by this train of wild Circumlocutions, a body would think that College had been wholly Innocent Of any hand in the Promoting of that Scurrilous and Malicious Libel, especially considering some passages of his in the other Speech that was Printed for T. Bassett. I take God to witness (says he) and do freely acknowledge, I have sought my God with tears several times, to inform me if so be I had with any Word transgressed at any time. He does not find himself Guilty it seems, of so much as one Word amiss, but appears to purge himself upon his Death, as to that particular, which naturally resolves into this Conclusion; that either he had nothing to do with that Paper, or otherwise that he approv'd the Design and Contents of it, though one of the most Insolent Pieces of Seditious Ribaldry that ever saw the light. [Monstrous foul Beast, Thief, Child of Heathen Hobbs.] This is the Language of the Protestant Joyner to his Sovereign. Let the world judge by this of his Religion, and of theirs too that side with him; and in so doing, become Abettors and Partakers of his Crimes. But we shall now make it as clear as the light it self, that he went off the Stage with a sad account to answer for upon this very Point.

First, He own'd to Mr. Atterbury, the Messenger, all the Papers that were found in his House to be his own, whereof the Raree Show was one; telling him moreover, that If there was any Treason in those Papers, the wisest man in England was mistaken. And so says Aaron Smith in his Paper of Instructions to him at Oxford. [The Raree Show, &c. and the Pictures are not Treason.] Taking for granted that the Raree-Show, &c. would infallibly be made out against him.

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The *Design* of this *Raree-show*, drawn with a Pencil upon *Dutch Paper* in *Black-lead*, was found, it seems, lying upon his Table, and afterwards mis-lay'd. So that College dodg'd them upon that point, at the Tryal, and disown'd it in these words [*I am sure you could never find the Original of any such thing in my House.*] But though this was a *point-blank denial* of a Truth; there is this to be said yet in Extenuation of it, that his Life was at stake, and he made the best of his Plea. But this is no Excuse yet for his *Double-dealing* after his Sentence, and upon the place of Execution. He was Interrogated in the Castle some few days before he suffer'd, whether he did not with his own hand draw the design for the Ballad of *A Raree-show*? and whether that very Draught was not taken with the other Prints, in his House? His Answer was, that he was neither the Author of the Verses or Ballad, nor did he know either the Author or the Printer. And then for the Design, he bad them shew it (knowing it to be lost) and he would own it, if it were his.

Now to expound this Riddle, 'tis probable he did not know the Author nor the Printer; and yet it is clear that the first design was of his drawing; and by him accommodated to the Verses, without so much as knowing who was the Poet. He might possibly deliver that Draught also to have it Cut, without knowing the Graver; as it is certain that he did deliver the Verses to be Printed, though perhaps without knowing the Printer. And this does evidently appear from the Testimony of the Printer himself.

The Printer confesses and declares upon the sight of one of the Papers found at Colleges, that it was wrought at his Press; that he did it for *Francis Smith*, who told him that it was a *flawry, jeking thing*, but a Truth, which corresponds with the Evidence, that College said it was



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*It is true as that Gods in Heaven.* The Printer Inform'd likewise, that *Francis Smith*, upon the reading of the Staves to him *Expounded* them; (but without the *Pi-cture*) and told him that there was a *Captain* with a *Pack* at his back, and that was the *King*; and that He in the *Mire* was the *King*; and that He with the *Two Faces* was the *King* again; and that it was a *Merry Jocosse thing*, and had been sung before several *Lords* at *Oxford*: Which Particularities do punctually agree with the Evidence against *Colledge*, from whom undoubtedly *Franck Smith* receiv'd the *Manuscript*; and *College*, it seems, told *Smith* no more upon this occasion, than what he had told before to o-ther People. The Book-seller, I find, knew well enough what he did too, being very earnest with the Printer not to discover his *Name*, but to say that he *had the Copy* from a *Gentleman*, to him unknown; adding moreover these words [*A body may be Troubled about it, but there's no Treason in't.*]

Now after all that is said, lest it should be suggested that there's no positive Proof yet against *Colledge*, that he had any thing to do with this Libel, we shall now put that Question out of all dispute. There was a Paper of *Colleges Intercepted*, which upon Examination he utterly deny'd at first; but finding himself *Discover'd*, he *Confess'd* it. This was some few days before his Execution. The Paper here intended, was the *Speech*, word for word, that was Printed for *Edith College*; which being shew'd to the *Joyner*, he acknowledg'd it to be of his own *Hand-writing*; and so is the *Manuscript* also of the *Raree-show*, from whence that Ballad was Printed; and I have the *Original* at this Instant by me, to satisfie any man that shall make a doubt whether or no it was of *Colleges Writing*. Besides that, he sung the Ballad in several

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places, and particularly at Sir Philip Matthews's, at Southcot, as divers Persons of Credit are ready to attest: And by the token that Sir Philip charg'd him to forbear, for he would not suffer any such thing in his House; or to this effect. If this were not sufficient, I could tell ye that one Tanner, a Quaker, in Watford, own'd the receiving of Seven of the Raree-Shows (or about that Number) from Colleges own Hand; And yet this Tanner stood up for Colledge at the Tryal, That [he never knew any fault in him.] P. 73. And Dispens'd with his Hat-Worship too upon that occasion.

I cannot but deplore the Insatuated blindness of this Unhappy Creature, that should now at his last Extremity, instead of discharging his soul by a publique and sincere Repentance, be troubling of his head with Shifts and Reservations, as if he were contriving how to cast a mist before the Eyes of God and Man; and in a case so open too, that half an eye sees thorow it. And yet I cannot but have more Charity for his endeavour to shuffle it off in the one Speech, than for his saying just nothing at all of it in the other: Unless as he has wrapt up the particular Crimes for which he suffer'd, in his last general Act of Charity and Confession. [*Whomever I have offended in word or deed, I ask every man's pardon; and I forgive the World with all my soul all the Injuries I have received*] This is the best that can be made out: And without large allowances for distraction of thought, and want of consideration, 'tis more than a man can justifie. In Basset's Speech, he cannot so much as charge himself with any offensive Word though upon the Scrutiny, he had sought the Lord with Tears for Information. [*I as little thought (says he) to come to this as any man that hears me this day; and I bless God, I have no more deserved it from the hands of men, than the Child that sucks at his Mothers*

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*Mothers breast, I bless God for it.]* Now in his Speech Printed for Edith College, he seems to contradict this, but it is in terms so entangled and dubious, that I must leave the Reader to make his own guesses upon it, only recommending this to his observation; that he speaks Intelligibly enough in all other cases, but where either his Religion, or his Crime is the Question: As for example,

*There be some other Scandalous and Malicious Reports thrown upon me, as that I should own all that was Sworn against me, except Hains's Evidence, and the like: To all which I have been examined by Dr. Marshall, whom the Bishop of Oxon did voluntarily send to me the day after I was Condemned; and that Worthy and Pious Dr. Hall, who came to me, and from whom I received the Blessed Sacrament on Sunday last, to whom I did make the same Confession and Acknowledgment as I have here Inserted; particularly the which I do again affirm is Truth, as I shall answer it to God Almighty: Only I did acknowledge as my fault, I did believe I might have been Guilty on some Occasions, and in heat of talk, to have uttered some words of Indecency, not becoming my Duty, concerning the King or his Council; and if so, I do beg their Pardon.]* Now the Reader is left to his choice, whether to understand [ONLY] as an Exception to the Truth of his Confession, as who should say *'Tis all True but that*; or to take it for an acknowledgment, of having been Intemperate that way: Or otherwise, as a bare supposition, as if he had said, *I do rather incline to think I might sometimes lash out that way; but if I did, it was in a Passion; and if I ever did any such thing, I ask their Pardon.* So that here's nothing clear and open, to answer, either the expectation of the world, or the duty of a Person in his Condition; but only a wandering vein of Ambiguity, and Incoherence, to amuse the Reader, and to perplex the Period. Or if it means any thing  
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else,

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else, it bears only the Countenance of a faint acknowledgment of a Misdemeanor, in a direct Contradiction to what he delivered by word of mouth at his death; Confirming the Truth of what he *Confesses* in the *One* Paper, and *denys* in the *other* (in his own words) *with his last breath, and sealing it with his dearest Blood.*

It is with great unwillingness that I have enter'd upon this office; but since the Faction has taken the freedom to arraign the Justice of the Nation, on the behalf of this Pretended Innocent, I reckon'd it my duty on the other hand, to expose in some measure the Fraudulent Practices of the Prisoner; and I make no doubt but to Evince unto any man whatsoever, that will but hear and attend Common Reason, that over and above the Proofs and Circumstances that appear'd at his Tryal, there is in these Sheets sufficient to make out the Credibility of his Accusation. But in my way to the main business, I shall give ye in the next Section some short touches of his disingenuous proceedings in other cases.

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**§. 5. Colleges Doublings and Mistakes about the Business of the Lady Rochester, and Father Thompson, and his Entertainment of Mr. Sergeant. Some Notes upon the Evidence of Sir William Jennings, and Mr. Masters, and his Complaints of Ill Usage.**

I shall not charge my self with a Critical Dissection of all Colleges Disguises and Mistakes, but make my Observations upon such, and so many of them as may serve for a Foundation to the Reader, for some competent judgment.

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judgment upon the rest : And first to the Report concerning the Lady *Rocheſter*.

It paſs'd for current here in the Town, that the Lady *Rocheſter*, upon her Death-bed declar'd that *College* was the man who firſt brought the Prieſt to her, that Perverted her to the Faith of the Church of *Rome*; which being a thing true in it ſelf, is not unlikely to have been in ſuch manner declar'd by the ſaid Lady; but whether it *was* or was *not* ſo, it matters not. But this *Rumour* however open'd all Peoples mouths about the Town; that *College* was a *Papiſt*. Upon this Report, *College*, pretended to purge himſelf of that Calumny, in both the Speeches aforeſaid formerly cited, and firſt in that of *Edith Colles*, in theſe words,

*'Tis Reported I ſhould be the occaſion of Perverting the Lady Rocheſter, and brought a Prieſt to her; one Thompſon; alias Conyers: I deny it, all I did was at the Requeſt of the Earl of Rocheſter, who gave me a Letter to deliver to him; which I did, but knew not the Contents; neither did that Lady report any ſuch thing of me at her death.*

There be a great many other ſtrange Reports that I have heard ſince I have been a Priſ'ner; That I ſhould be a means to Convert the Counteſs of *Rocheſter*, by bringing one *Thompſon* a *Prieſt* to her. Truly all that I was concern'd in, was ſome fifteen or ſixteen years ago, I Lodged at Col. *Vernons*, that Married the Lady *Brooks*: The Family were *Papiſts*, the *Brooks's* were *Papiſts*; and there was this *Thompſon*; and I did ſuppoſe him a *Prieſt* in the Houſe, though I never ſaw him at Popiſh Service, or Worſhip, though I was there half a year; but coming afterwards to my Lord *Rocheſter's*, about ſome buſineſs I had to do for him, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, he ſent for me one Afternoon from the Parſonage in *Adderbury*, to his Houſe, and his Lady and he ſtood



stood together: He sent to me, and asked me if my Horse were at home? *said he*, I would have you carry this Letter to Mr: *Thompson*, if you are at leisure this Afternoon: *My Lord I am at leisure to serve you*. So I took a Letter from his hand, and his *Lady's* too, as I remember, (he made an offer that way) Sealed with his own Seal, and carried it to *Thompson*, and deliver'd it to him, and he told me that he would wait upon my Lord, for it was for some Lands my Lord did offer to raise money for some occasions. *This is the truth of that Scandal.*

Note that in the former Speech he says, *all I did*, was, &c. and in the other *All that I was concerned in*, was, &c. And at the bottom [*This is the Truth of that Scandal.*] Giving the Reader to understand by this way of delivering himself, that he had spoken the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth; so help him God.

Now to Confront these Peremptory Assertions of his, It is certain, that the day before the Lady *Rochester* fell sick, she said that *College* was a *Papist*, in the hearing of several Persons; having said the same thing also before, publicly, at the Table of a Lady in that Neighbourhood, as will be sufficiently attested by many People of unexceptionable Credit, living near the place; if the matter shall be in such sort question'd, as that it may be worth the while to prove it, and that the persons concern'd in the Enquiry shall think fit to own their Names. The ground of this Honourable Ladies mistake, is supposed to have been the Zeal of *Colleges* Interessing himself in the good Offices of bringing the said Priest unto the Lady.

That which he says of carrying a Letter to *Thompson*, upon such considerations, and in such manner as he represents it, is probably a Truth: But it is not as he renders it, [*All that he did*, or [*All that he was concern'd in upon that* affair;



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affair; for he has several times told a worthy Gentleman, a Trustee to the Lord *Rocheſter*, and divers others, That he the ſaid *College* being about Fourteen years ſince a Trooper under the Earl of *Rocheſter*, my Lord imploy'd him to bring one *Thompson* a Priest to his Lady, to draw her to the *Romiſh Faith*; and that he brought him to my Lady ſeveral times; and that by this *Thompſons* means ſhe was perverted. This will be prov'd (if inſiſted upon) by ſeveral Perſons of Worth and Credit in and about *Bridgewater*. The Inducement to the employing of *College* upon this Errand, was his being in League at that time with a Maid-Servant of my Ladies, who was afterward his Second Wife, and made uſe of as a Proper Inſtrument for the Obliging of *College* to a Service of that kind. Nor was this the only Letter, as may be undeniably prov'd, that *College* carried upon that ſubject. We'll ſee now what he ſays to the buſineſs of Mr. *Sergeant*.

*It's ſaid I Harbour'd Priests and Jeſuits; and they inſtance in one Sergeant, who lay at my Houſe in Carter-Lane, Nine years ſince, by the name of Dr. Smith, a Doctor of Phyſick; brought to me by one Monleſs and Apothecary in the Old Bayly; and one Mr. Field a Woollen-Draper within Ludgate; and was there as a Dr. of Phyſick, and I knew for no other, (Speech by Edith College.*

*It is ſaid that I had a Priest ſeveral years in my Houſe, viz. Sergeant that came over from Holland to Discover. About ſome ten years ago, that very ſame man came to me, but was a ſtranger to me; and he came to me by the name of Dr. Smith, a Phyſitian, and there was an Apothecary in the Old Bayly, and a Linnen-Draper within Ludgate that came with him. They brought him thither, and took a Chamber, and lay about half or three quarters of a year, at times, by the Name of Dr. Smith, and as a Phyſitian. This is the Truth*

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*Truth of that, and no otherwise. This is the Entertainment of Sergeant. . . (Bassets Speech.)*

Upon the comparing of these two passages, you will find in the former, that he denys the Knowledge of *Sergeant*, any farther than as a Dr. of Physick; and in the latter, slips it over with saying only that he was a Stranger when he *came* to him. Now it is a certain Truth, (and proveable beyond dispute, so to be) that *College* knew this Dr. of Physick to be Mr. *Sergeant*, even while he Lodg'd in his House. And then for the *Draper* (whom he makes to be a *Linnen-Draper* in the one Speech, and a *Woollen* in the other, It is absolutely averr'd (as I have it from a sure hand) that this Draper never knew where Mr. *Sergeant* Lodg'd, till he himself told him his Lodging.

Next to the bus'ness of Sir *William Jennings*, and Mr. *Masters*, it is remarkable, that though he fenc'd and shifted upon his Tryal, and takes expresse notice of them in his Speech Printed for *Edith College*, yet he makes no particular mention of them at his last *Speech* by word of mouth, notwithstanding the weight and effect which those Witnesses had with the Jury: But in his *Written Speech*, which was Published by his Relations, you have these words.

*As to what Mr. Masters Swore, he was Unjust to me in omitting that part of our discourse concerning the Parliament in Forty; For when he Curs'd them, and the Last Parliament at Westminster also; and said they were alike; and charged them in Forty with beginning the War, and cutting off the Kings Head: I denied both, and said it was the Papists that began that War, and the Death of the King was the Fatal Consequence of it, which Mr. Charleton a Draper in St. Pauls Church-yard can testifie; the discourse being at the farther end of his Shop, and he present; into which, Masters seeing me go, came apace from towards his*  
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own Shop, and as I believe, on purpose to Quarrel with me, for which God forgive him.

I shall have occasion by and by to handle this Point more at large. So that no more needs to be said at present, but that College has several times in Mr. Charletons Company; *Fustif'd the Proceedings of 1641.* and pronounced the King to be a *Papist*, as Mr. Charleton I presume will easily call to mind, if there should be any occasion to refresh his memory upon that Subject. [And that which he says to Sir William Fennings likewise, is no more than an *Empty Cavil*, without any colour of a Defence.]

To come now to the *III Usage* that he Complains of [I was (says he in his last Speech) under most strange Circumstances as ever any Man was. I was kept Prisoner so close in the Tower, that I could have no Conversation with any, though I was certain the Popish Lords had it every Day there, though I could have none. I could not tell the Witnesses that were to Swear against me; I could not tell what it was they Swore against me; for I could have no Copy of the Indictment, nor no way possible to make any preparation to make my defence, as I ought to have done, and might have done by Law. I had no liberty to do any thing, as I am a dying Man,]

Now for the Truth of this, I shall refer the Reader to his *Two Petitions* to his Majesty; the one of *July 28.* and the other of *August 11.* prefix'd to his *Trial*, and two *Orders of Council* thereupon. In the *Former*, he prays that leave may be given to Mr. Thomas Smith, and Mr. Robert West, to come to him; and also to have the use of Pen, Ink, and Paper, in order only to make his *Legal and Fust Defence*; and also to have the comfort of seeing his two Children; which was all granted him as he desired. In his *Second Petition* of *August 11.* he makes a *Preambular Acknowledgement* in these following words.

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*In full assurance therefore of the great Justice and Clemency of Your Majesty, and this Honourable Board, which he hath lately had some Experience of, and doth with all Humility and Thankfulness acknowledge, &c. And then he further prays,*

*Your Petitioner doth humbly beseech Your Majesty and this Honourable Board, that he may have a Copy of the Indictment against him, or the particular Charges of it: That his Council and Solicitor may have free Access to, and private Conference with him; and because their own private affairs, or other accidents may call away some of his Council from his Assistance, that Mr. Wallop, Mr. Smith, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Darnel, Mr. West of the Middle-Temple, Mr. Holles of Lincolns-Inn, Mr. Rotherham, Mr. Lovel, Mr. Rowny of Greys-Inn, Mr. Pollexin, Mr. Ward of the Inner-Temple, may be assign'd him for Council; and Aaron Smith for his Solicitor, and that he may have a Copy of the Jurors to be return'd upon his Tryal some Days before his Tryal. Hereupon it was Order'd, by His Majesty in Council, That the Friends and Relations of Stephen College, a Prisoner in the Tower, shall have Liberty of Visiting, and freely Conversing with him, and the Lieutenant of the Tower, (having first caused their Names to be taken in Writing) is to suffer such Friends and Relations to have Access to the said Stephen College, without any Interruption from time to time accordingly.*

Here's a Clamour, ye see, upon a False and Groundless Suggestion, deliver'd upon the Credit of a Dying Man, as the true state of his Condition, when yet it was no other in effect, then the saying over of his Lesson from the dictate of his Solicitor.

*Before ye Plead (says Aaron Smith in his Paper of Instructions) speak to this purpose.*

*My*

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*My Lords, I have been used not only unlike an Inn-cent, or an English-man, but I believe more barbarously than any Convicted Villain under the Tyranny of Turkey, or France: When I was first Apprehended, I was, contrary to the Privileges of a Citizen of London, hurried out from thence before a Secretary of State. Here's the King and his Government Charg'd with Tyranny, and His Majesties Authority subjected, even in a case of Treason, to the Jurisdiction of my Lord Mayor. [I might with as much Justice have been hang'd at Tyburn by the way, as to be brought hither to be Murder'd, with a little more Formality. And then a little lower: [I will not be Murder'd in Hugger-mugger.] Answer thus (says Aaron Smiths Paper) if the Attorney General, or any other of the Kings Council Interrupt ye; or when you have done, tell ye, you Arraign the Justice of the Nation.*

*When you come to open your own Evidence (says Smith's Paper again) speak to this purpose: [I hope you will not bring so much Scandal upon your selves [My Lords and Gentlemen of the Jury] as to be the Popes Drudges; and give the first blow to the Protestant Cause, by Convicting me upon such Infamous Evidence. And lastly, Give an Account of your going down to Oxford, and that you went, because Haines had Sworn the Papists design'd to destroy the Parliament there.] So that College, ye see, was Instructed, not only in a Scandalous method of Reviling the Court, but he was also told what Cause he should Assign for his going to Oxford, and directed to cast it upon Haines's Oath, as a colour rather of his Solicitors Invention, than the true and real Motive that carry'd him thither.*

*Before I go any further, it will become me to distinguish betwixt Colleges Two Speeches. The one was deliver'd by word of mouth, upon the Cart, at the time of his Execution. The other was convey'd from him out of the Castle, to some of his Relations in Writing; and this was the*



Paper, which at the first he deny'd the sending of, and afterwards confess'd.

Having now laid open what it is, or rather what it is not, which in Colleges case is call'd the *Protestant Religion*; the meaning of College's *Protestants* and *Papists*: Having prov'd the *Libellous Pictures* upon him, and given the Reader a tast of his *Unfaithful dealing*, even to the last: We shall here proceed to a fair and impartial Deliberation upon the subject matter of his *Charge*, and leave the Reader to his own thoughts, whether *Guilty or not Guilty* upon the whole matter.

### § 6. Notes upon Colleges ordinary Way of Discourse and Conversation.

IN my way to the Capital Branch of his Charge, (*i. e.* the Design of *Seizing the King*; and *Subverting the Government*) it will not be amiss to take some notice of the humour of the man in the ordinary way of his *Behaviour* and *Conversation*; The Bias of his *Inclinations* and *Opinions*, and other circumstantial Discoveries of his *Imaginations* and *Purposes*, with a respect to those Seditious ends. And yet it may be looked upon, perhaps as an Idle & a Superfluous undertaking, to put my self to the trouble of proving that by Particular Instances, which might be as well done by a General Appeal to all the Clubs and Coffee-houses about this Town wheresoever he haunted; for they can every one of them bear witness to his Intemperances against the Government; and that when he was not making himself and the Company sport in his way of Ridiculing the King, the Duke of York, the Church, and the Court, the man was as good as out of his Element.

They



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*They told me (says he, speaking of some of the Lords of the Council) there was Treason Sworn against me ; truly they surprized me when they said so ; for of all things in the world I thought myself as free from that, as any man. I asked them if any man living had the confidence to Swear Treason against me ? They said Several, Three or Four , as I remember. Last Speech.*

*As to what Dugdale, Smith, Turberville, and Hains Swore against me, they did Swear such Treason that nothing but a Mad man would have Trusted any body with. Ibid.*

*And again [ It is a very unlikely thing that I should speak Treason to Dugdale. ]*

There are two things now worthy of Consideration in this Point (even setting aside the positive Proofs of the Treason spoken.) First, *Did* he speak the Treason whereof he stands Accused or not ? Secondly, It may be a Question, *What* it is that he calls *Treason* ? It is notoriously known to most that ever knew the man, that it was his common Guise to talk of his Majesty at such a Desperate Rate, that People were afraid to give him the Hearing ; and that he has been caution'd hundreds of times to keep his Tongue in's Head ; or, if he did not, *he would talk himself at last to the Gallows.* Why should it be such a *Surprize*, now, to this Rash and Violent Man, to hear that there was *Treason* Sworn against him ; when every man (almost) that kept him Company, warn'd him of it, and foretold him what it would come to at last ? And then, how frivolous again is the *Manner* of his Discharging himself from the Treasons Sworn against him by the *Witnesses* ? None but a *Mad-man* (he says) would have *Trusted* any body in such a case. And yet it appears from the tenor of his whole Conversation, and the frequent Advices of his Friends, that he *Trusted* any man that came next, with as much as that amounts to. And now once more, to the  
unlike-

unlikelihood of his speaking such things to *Dugdale* : Let the Reader ask and answer himself, as to the *Probability* of his being as free with *Dugdale*, as he was with other People. Let not any man take this for a Rambling Story upon a bare Hear-say ; for I am ready to prove and justify the truth of every particular : Not as the Author of the *No Protestant Plot* takes upon him, with an [ *I do assure all the world, &c.* (Page 19.) *My self and divers others have seen the Original, &c.* (Page 18.) And this same I, and *My Self*, a *Quidam* all this time, that a man does not know where to find : But for the Satisfaction of any man that doubts, I have here expos'd the Authors name with this Pamphlet.

*They told me* (says College again) *it was Sworn against me that I had a design to pull the King out of White-Hall, and to serve him as his Father was serv'd, or to that purpose : The Loggerhead, his Father, or that kind of Language.* I did deny it then, and do now deny it, upon my Death. Last Speech.

This Denial I suppose, speaks to both the Members of this Period : The *Design* upon the Person of the *King* ; and the Villany of the *Foul Language* upon his Late, Blessed *Father*. To the *Former* we have allotted a Section by it self, and the *Latter* may be fairly concluded (I think) out of his own mouth. First (says he) *I thought that the Parliament that sate last at Westminster, did stand up for the Peoples rights after the same manner that the Parliament in Forty did,* (Tryal, Page 83.) So that after a most abominable scandal upon the last *Parliament* at *Westminster* in the *Comparison*, he justifies the *Rebellion* in the *Application*. And then again, *I did maintain* (says he) *that they* (the *Parliament* of *Forty*) *were an Honest Good Parliament, and much of opinion with the Parliament that sate last at Westminster, which was for the true Interest of the Nation,* Pa. 81.

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Now if I understand this matter aright, It is tacitly to call the King all the Tyrants and Murderers which that Traiterous Faction call'd him. And besides, What's the meaning of [*Like Father Like Son*] in his *Raree Show*? But *First*, as appears by the Context to Involve them both in the same Fate: And *Secondly* to represent them both under the same Character. That is to say (in short) to apply all those Brutalities of Language which he has in that Libel and else-where, bestow'd upon the *Son*, to the Reproach and Dishonour of his Martyr'd *Father*. To finish this Point, He had a kind of *Idiome* by himself, and seldom Discours'd of his *Majesty*, his *Royal Highness*, the *Hierarchy*, or the *Privy Council*, but in the Style of *Old Rowley*, *Mack*, *Tantivies* and *Tories*. [*Old Rowley* (says he) *is as errant a Papist as his Brother.*] And this was his note at every turn. [*Old Rowley* (says he again) *cares not a half-penny what becomes of the Crown, or how he leaves it in Debt, or what becomes of his People as to matter of Religion, &c.*] At an other time [*They are come* (says he) *to change Candles at Court already; but we'l make them eat 'em too, before we have done.*] [*When we have done with the Papists* (says he in an other Company) *We'l do well enough with the Bishops.*]

Now here's another Passage to a very honest man of his own Trade, and a Loyal Subject. This person being out of Town about a week before the opening of the *Oxford-Parliament*, fell into Company with *College*; well Mounted and a Case of Pistols before him, not far from *Enfield*. *Mr. College* (says he) *what will the Parliament do at Oxford?* By God (says *College*) I know what they'l do. They'l begin with the Bill of Exclusion. The King has no money, and he gets not a penny without it. *Well* (says the other) *but what if his Majesty will not pass it?* *We shall see then* (says *College*) *who are the Papists. We'l run them down first, and then we shall do well enough with the Clergy.*

Clergy. *We'l level them with the Ground. We are Ten to One.* Is not this a Broad sign made at the King; And does it not precisely answer the very Pinch of the Evidence? And methinks he spake home to another Foyner too, that charg'd him with the neglect of his Trade; and all the reply he made, was the laying his hand upon his Sword, as if he had said, *This is it that I intend to trust to.*

There are so many instances of his Pragmatical meddling Humour, that the recital of them would cost more Time and Paper than the thing is worth. A Gentleman in discourse with College in the Castle at Oxford, was telling him (after many professions of his Innocency) *Mr. College* (says he) *you know I have my self at Cornbury heard you many times talk undutifully of the Government.* Now methinks, you that are but a Mechanick should not presume to meddle with things so much above ye. Was it any harm (says he) for *Amos* to leave his Cows? Nay he was so bold and Inconsiderate when things went otherwise than he would have them, that upon the Dissolution of the *Last Westminster Parliament*, he went presently away to *Dick's Coffee-House* in a Huff. Well (says he) *I perceive here's no good to be done. We must e'en draw our Swords and Fight it over again.* These were the words, or to this effect.

The Turbulence of his Spirit was seen upon all occasions, where there was but the least colour for the fastening of a Scandal upon the King, the Church, and his Majesties Ministers of State and Justice. His Vein lay much toward *Doggerel* and *Designing*, as he has plentifully given the world to understand in his Learned *Drawings*, which are still charged with the utmost Rudeness, Malice, and Scurrility imaginable; insomuch that the Treason of his Heart is laid as open in those Cuts, as that of his Tongue was at his Trial; with this single Difference, that the one was only a wish, and the other an *Overt Act*, and a declared Resolution.

This

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His device call'd the *Catholique Gamesters*, is a venemous Libel upon all the Orders of the Government; and first upon the *King himself*, charging all the Pretended Miscarriages of State, in *Shew*, upon the Papists, but in *Truth*, and *Effect*, upon his *Majesty*.

It is a Libel upon the *House of Peers*, by the Culling out of so many *Lords* by Name, under the Title of *Protestants*, and Representing in that number only *Two Bishops*, that is to say, *Hereford* and *Lincoln*, implying all the rest to be *Papists*. In the *House of Commons*, he tells us of *Pensioners who Voted by Contents*, got *Bills to Pass against the Common Good*, &c.

And then he descends to the *Bench*, and the *Jury*, where he brings in the *Pope*, speaking of the *Priests* and *Jesuits* in these words:

*Hell keep the rest from Justice (we call Fury),  
And send them Wakeman's or a Gascoign Jury:  
Pick'd, Brib'd, Instructed how to murder Truth,  
From Grand St. Martins Bull, and Cits Wide Mouth.*

And take them quite through, they are all of the same Style and Design: And I would have any man tell me now, if a body may not charitably enough conclude, that whosoever *Defames* the Government at This rate, wishes it *Overturnd*; and if he had but Power and Opportunity, would do his part toward it. I should be ungrateful, now I am upon this subject, if I should not acknowledge the Honor he has done me in divers of his Emblematical Pieces. He has presented the world with *Six Towzers*, and *L'Estrange* with *Four Fair pair of Gallows*.

Here's nothing hitherto, but what may very well pass for the Preamble to a Conspiracy, and he that considers his Haunts, the Company he kept, the Access he had to

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the Private Cabals and Consultations of the Faction; together with his forwardness to thrust himself into all Popular Brawls and *Contests*, and that Stubborn Obstinacy which was natural to him, will undoubtedly look upon him as an instrument every way qualified for such a purpose. As they were carrying away *Sam. Harris* about the Treasonous Libel that cost *Mr. Fitz-Harris* his Life, and a Crowd of People about him, a very honest Gentleman, a friend of mine, saw *College* whispering with a Person then in Power, from whom he went immediately to make his way to *Harris*; but the press was so great that he was forc'd to deliver his Message to him over Three or Four Heads, and so call'd to him just over the shoulder of the Gentleman, my friend. Come *Sam.* (says he) *take a good heart, Mr. Such a one*—— (naming the person) *makes no doubt but to bring ye off.*

And to shew ye now what Credit *College* had with his Party, (but to what purpose in this particular I cannot say) He took his Hat which was very broad Brim'd, and holding it in his hands with the inside upward, *I have given away* (says he) *twice as much money as this Hat wou'd hold, Brims and all.* Now I suppose this money was not thrown away to make Ducks and Drakes; so that I cannot reconcile this Declaration of his to a certain Passage in his Last Speech, viz. [*I take God to witness, I never had one Sixpence, or anything else, to carry on any Design; and if it were to save my life now, I can't Charge any man in the world with any design against the Government (as God is my Witness) or against his Majesty, or any other Person.*]

The Explication of this Clause depends upon the knowledge of what is meant by these words, [ANY DESIGN:] for the Expression is too large to be True, if it be taken in the Latitude: and if it be understood with a Restriction, i.e. that he knew of no Design against the King, or the Govern-

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*Government*, the Principle of Forty one (by him asserted in his Tryal) brings him off, when the *Rebellion* it self was declared to be *FOR* the *King*, and the *Government*; so that 'tis but his placing the Government in the People, or the *Two Houses*, to Countenance the Equivocation: And finally, The disclaiming of a Design against any other person goes a little too far methinks; for by his own Confession there was a Design carried on against the *Papists*.

It would be proper enough in this place to render some Account of his Deportment at *Oxford* in the *Prison*. He was, at first coming, Stubborn and Captious, Insisting upon the Rights of an *English-man*, and Menacing his Keeper till he was brought to better Terms, by telling him plainly what he was to trust to. Nothing put him more out of Patience, than telling him of his *Pictures*. In his behaviour in Company he seem'd always to be very little concern'd; but his Keeper says he had terrible Agonies when he was by himself that kept him waking sometimes whole nights. A little before he dy'd, Mr. *Gregory* the *Sheriff* came into his Room with an Order to have his Body deliver'd whole to his Friends. Upon the sight of the Seal, he leapt from his Bed with a great deal of Joy; expecting it might have been a Pardon; but upon finding the mistake, he threw himself down again in a deep Disquiet. He says in his *Dying words* (*Printed for E. College*) That the Messenger who brought him the Message of his Death, told him he might save his Life, if he would confess who was the cause of his coming to *Oxford*, and upon what Account, which was ill done of the Messenger; for it was not only *without*, but contrary to *Orders*.

He was in the main very ignorant of any thing of *Religion*; and he would say that he *found*, and that he was *guided* by the Spirit; and this was his perpetual Refuge. What Principles he had were *Enthusiastical*. As for In-

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stance, He said that Eating and Drinking in the Eucharist, and so washing in Baptism was to be understood in a Spiritual Sense, and declar'd that he receiv'd no benefit by the Prayers of the Church. He spake of the *Quakers* as *the people of God*, and particularly of one that had been with him as *the honestest man that ever he knew*. It was reply'd to him by a Reverend Divine, that the *Quakers* deny'd in effect, *Christianity it self*: As the *Two Sacraments*, and a *Succession of Ministers*. And next they deny'd both the *Divinity*, and *Satisfaction of our Saviour*; naming *Pen*, whom *College* said he very well knew, but did not own him in that Principal. His Favourite was *Mr. Baxter*, whom he heard more than *Dr. Owen*; and his Opinion was, that God had a *Church* in all the *Seets* in *England*.

## § 7. College Justifies the Grounds and the Proceedings of the late Rebellion.

**A**fter these Pregnant and Undeniable Proofs of so many Virulent and Audacious Outrages upon the *Person*, and *Dignity* of his Majesty, and the very *Form*, as well as the *Administration* of the Government. It remains now only to be considered how far the Malefactor was *Principled* toward the Actuating of that Malice, and by what Methods he propounded the putting of those Disloyal Inclinations into Execution.

First, As to his *Opinion* of the *Sovereignty*, according to the Constitution of this *Kingdom*, we shall not need to look any further for't, than into his own words, and the inevitable Conclusion which naturally arises from them. He appeals from *Mr. Masters* to *Mr. Charlton* in *St. Paul's Church yard*, about his Justifying the Parliament of *Forty*,  
and

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and yet it is a known Truth, that he has several times justify'd that Parliament in the hearing of Mr. *Charleton*. He does acknowledge in his Tryal (page 82.) That he said, *That Parliament did nothing but what they had Just Cause for, and that the Parliament that last sate at Westminster, was of the same opinion.* Now in saying this, he takes upon himself the Owning of all the Principles, whereupon they proceeded in that Controversie betwixt the King & the Two Houses: And in so doing, strips the King of all his Regalities, and Lodges the Supremacy in the Lords and Commons. [*The Papiſts began the War* (he says) *The Papiſts broke off the Treaty at Uxbridge; and the Papiſts cut off the Kings Head,* page 81.] And in that case, He Justifies the Old Parliament. What can be clearer now, than that if this King should have been press'd upon the same Terms with his Royal Father, After the same manner as the Papiſts Began, and Pursu'd the Former War, and brought his Late Majesty to the Block, Just so it should have been call'd another Popish Exploit, the Reducing of this King to the same Extremities: And as they made the Late King, the Church, and the Royal party, Papiſts in the One Rebellion, they would have treated this King, Church, and all his Faithful Subjects, as Papiſts too in another Rebellion. These are the Oxford Papiſts fairly Expounded. And under this Ambiguity it is, that he Covers and Disguises his pretext of Faith and Affection to the King and his Government: That is to say, as he intends the Kings Authority to be Virtually resolv'd into the Two Houses: And this Seditious Maxim is a little more expressly set forth in his *Raree Show*. In which Libel, there is a Figure of a Man with a Chest at's Back, which he Explains to be meant of the King, with the Lords and Commons in a Box, and Pluck'd down in the Mire by Three Fellows, with these words to illustrate that Passage.

So,

*So, so, the Gyant's down,  
Let's MASTERS out of Pound, &c.*

In which two Verses is laid open, both the Design of De-throning the King, and in the word MASTERS the Doctrine of the Supremacy of the Two Houses.

Now for a further Confirmation of his Opinion, He declar'd to Mr. *Crosthwait* in the *Castle at Oxford*, That he believ'd it lawful to *Resist* the King, in case he should invade his *Property*; and he endeavour'd to defend it by several Arguments, till at length he was (at least) seemingly Convinc'd of his Mistake. This makes it abundantly Evident what he thought of the *Lawfulness* of such *Resistance*, if the Case of *Property* should come to be the *Question*; And it rests only now to make it out that he did take *Property* to be the Question; and then all his Pretensions of Respect to the King, and to the Government fall to the Ground: As what's the meaning of that Passage in his *Raree Show*, where he charges the King with

*Fleecing Englands Flocks,  
Long Fed with Bits and Knocks, &c.*

but to denote the King to be a Tyrant and an Oppressor?

Now to sum up briefly what is already delivered; Here are all the *Fore-runners* of, and *Dispositions* to a Rebellion, as clear as the Noon-day, and College deeply engag'd in every Point. First the General Pretence of a Design upon the *Protestant Religion*, as the Foundation of a *Popular Discontent*. 2dly. That *General Religion*, in such a manner as it is represented, is not any where to be found. 3dly. Under the Notion of the *Papists*, to Invade this Religion, the *Church Establish'd*, the King and his Party are most



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most apparently struck at. 4thly. All manner of *Defamatory Libels* are *Contriv'd*, *Publish'd*, and *Promoted* by *College himself* toward the Enflaming of a *Sedition*. 5thly. It is Remarkable, *Colleges Shuffling* and *Equivocating*, to Evade the *Charge*, which is, nevertheless made out against him at last. 6thly. There is an Undeniable Discovery of his *Dissaffection*, even to the Degree of a *Mortal Hatred*, both to *Church* and *State*. And 7thly. Considering the Method of *Colleges* Proceedings, with the Tendency of his *Practices*, *Principles*, and *Persuasions*, what could any man believe less (even without any further Evidence) than that *College Meditated*, and *Designed* the Improvement of all Occasions to the Subverting of the *Government*; and, in such manner too, as it is imputed to him?

### §. 8. There was a Design upon the King at Oxford, and College manifestly Engag'd in the Conspiracy.

THAT there was a Plot to be Executed at *Oxon*, will be granted, I presume, by any man that has but eyes in's head, and looks that way: And *this a Republican Plot* too, carried on under the pretended Apprehension of a *Papish* one. But the Multitude were to be mov'd and prepar'd for't: And see the course now that they took to work upon the Passions of the Common People. The first thing to be done was throughly to possess them that the *Papists* had a Design upon the *Parliament* at *Oxford*; and consequently upon the *Protestant Religion*; the *Liberties* and *Properties* of the *English Nation*. To this purpose, How many Impudent and Ridiculous *Shams*, by Counterfeit Tickets, and Letters were Expos'd in the daily Papers

pers of Intelligence, which at that time were swallowed whole, as the very Oracles of the *Vulgar*? [*Several Papers* (says the *Protestant Mercury*, Numb. 24.) have been dropt about the City, that there would be a Massacre at Oxford on the 25th Instant, and that the 5th of November will be turned into the 25th of March, (1681.) and one of these was thrown into a Shop in Grace-Church-street. But you shall now have the Letter it self at large, with all its appertinences.

London, March 16. *This very Morning, Letters were found in several places in this City, unseal'd; purporting a warning of a Dangerous Design to Destroy the Parliament; particularly one Letter was found in Mr. Brett's Shop, a Linnen-Draper in Grace-Church-street, which was supposed to be put in at a Cleft in the Window: His man finding it when he open'd the Shop, Communicated the same to his Master, who caus'd him to subscribe the Paper, that he might be able to testifie it was the same that he found; and then Presented it to one of our City Magistrates, who we suppose by this time has made his Majesty acquainted with the Contents, which were as followeth:*

To all the Noble Members of this most Honourable  
ensuing Parliament in General.

Noble Lords and Gentlemen,

*Though I dare not, nor am I in a condition to discover the whole substance of some Hellish Designs now on foot against his Majesties Royal Person, and against you all at Oxford; yet though I was sure to be Racked for it, I must and will give you a Hint of them as followeth.*

*Remember the Fifth of November, which is now to be the 25th of March; which, if not prevented, will be the utter destruction of both King and Parliament, and all True Protestants in his Majesties Dominions.*

*And*

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*And if that fail, beware of many thousands that lie in wait for your Lives, whose Design is so closely carried, that it will, I doubt, be a hard matter to discover it, until it be too late.*

*Mark well what I say, and make not slight of it, as ye tender your Lives and Fortunes, and the Kingdoms safety. I say, make not slight of it, as you tender your Lives and Fortunes, and the Kingdoms safety.*

*I am in a mean condition, and under many Afflictions, but cannot discover myself as yet. Thus wishing you all happy success, I take leave.*

This Letter was Supercribed as followeth ;

*To all True Protestants, who love the King and Parliament, whosoever finds this Note, let him with all speed repair to some Elected Members of the Parliament, and present it to them. (Ben. Harris's Protestant Domestique, Numb. 107.) You shall see now how the humor is followed, Numb. 110.*

*A Letter importing some Cursed and Treasonable Designs still Carrying on (by the ever Plotting Papists) against his Majesties Royal Person, and the Protestant Religion, being lately found in the Wood of Bally-Hooly in the County of Cork, in the Kingdom of Ireland, by a Gentleman of the County of Lymrick as he Travelled through that Wood: He thought it of that Concern to the Publique, that he immediately gave it to the Earl of Barrimore, to be by him transmitted to his Grace the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lientenant of that Kingdom, which was done (as we are inform'd) by the said Earl accordingly. A True Copy of which Letter followeth, viz.*

Brother David,

*I received a Letter lately, wherein I understand that we shall go on with our Design before Easter-day. We shall*

F

have

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*have Encouragements to destroy Heretiques, Lord Br. will be one of the Persons to destroy the Heretical King, and Monmouth. Encourage all our Friends to keep their Arms private. I am*

*Yours till death,*

Jan. 8.

Allen Condon.

Superscribed to *David Raach, Parish-Priest of Bally-Hoely.* This was Publish'd April 1. 1681.

There would be no end, if I should go through with all the Cheats upon that Juncture, of the same stamp. One more only and I have done.

*Letters from Ireland say that there was a Great Leading Priest, a man of great Request among the Popish Party, having been very Active in carrying on their Designs, was somewhat troubled in Conscience (being upon his Death-bed) at some things which he had kept secret, sent for some Protestants of the Neighborhood, unknown to the Papists, whom he had formerly been obliged to, to come and see him ere he departed; who coming according to his request, the Priest Expressed himself to this Effect.*

*God hath put it in my heart to warn ye to have a care of your selves; for you, and all the rest of the Protestants are design'd to be Massacred; It was to have been done some time since, but an accident obstructed it; so that the day is not certainly appointed, though the thing is fully concluded on: therefore defend your selves as well as you can. The same thing is designed in England. Ib. Numb. 112.*

Now as all these Stories were only Forgeries and Contrivances to put the Hot-headed and credulous Fools of the Faction into a Ferment, and prepare them for any violent Attempt; the Project did so far also take effect, as to draw together armed multitudes into a Resolution and  
Con-

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Confederacy, to oppose whatsoever should be presented unto them under the colour of a *Popish Design*: And they that had so little Wit or Honesty, as to run to *Oxford*, and so Accoutred, upon such an *April-Errand*, would undoubtedly have gone through with their work upon a good occasion, when they were so far onward in their way. Here was a very extraordinary Concurrence of Palpable Impostures, accommodated to the same End, and meeting upon the same nick of time too. And this is not all neither; for there were several Printed Papers, of Clamor, and Complaint, against the Kings taking his Guards with him, under a Pretext that they would hinder the Liberty of Debates, and over-awe the Parliament. This Circumstance does very much favour the Presumption of a Plot upon the Government; for if they were afraid of a *Popish Attempt*, his Majesties Guards would have been a good Security against it, and no inconvenience to them at all, unless in case of a *Phanatical Conspiracy*: so that their apprehension of the Guards is a very fair Interpretation of what they meant by the *Papists*.

If there was not a *Plot*, what meant the Distinguishing Marks of the *same-Colour'd-Ribbon in their Hats*, with *No Popery No Slavery* in them, for their Motto: and such quantities of them distributed for the discrimination of the Party? And why that *Motto* either? But first to intimate a notorious Scandal upon the King, as if his Majesty were *Popishly*, and *Tyrannically Inclined*. And 2dly. As an Ostentation of their Force and Resolution to Oppose any Power whatsoever, even under the colour of that Bare Pretence.

From this *Probability of a Seditious Design*, we shall come closer now to a *Proof* of the *thing* it self, and see how far *College* was concern'd in't, both from his own Words and Actions; and from the Agreement of other



Evidences with the Points of his Accusation : Not meddling at all with the merits of his Cause, as they appeared upon his Tryal.

*As for what Arms I had (says he) and what Arms others had, they were for our own Defence, in case the Papists should make any Attempt upon us, by way of Massacre, or any Invasion or Rebellion, that we should be ready to defend our selves. God is my Witness, this is all I know: If this be a Plot, This I was in; but in no other. But never knew of any Numbers or Times appointed for Meeting; but we said one to another, that the Papists had a Design against the Protestants when we did meet, as I was a man of General Conversation; and in case they should rise, we were ready: But then they should begin the Attempt upon us. Last Speech.*

It is to be noted first, that they were all *Armed*. 2dly. That they Communicated among themselves, and enter'd into a kind of League of *Conjunction*. 3dly. That they Reputed themselves strong enough to Encounter such a Body of men, as (if we may believe them) threatned Destruction to the Government. And 4thly. That they were resolv'd to put it to the hazard, if the Papists should attempt any thing: So that here's a *Form'd Conspiracy* acknowledged; and so many men as good as listed, but however link'd in a common Design, without any Authority or Commission: And we know very well what the Law says in this case, let the intent of it be what it will. We said to one another (*says he*) that *the Papists had a design against the Protestants*; and then that *we were Ready, but They should begin the Attempt*; which may seem to qualifie the matter by making it only a *Defensive War*. But still, even that War it self, without the Kings Commission, is a plain Rebellion. And this is not yet the worst on't; for in Vindicating the War of the *two Houses* in 1640, &c. and their Proceedings under the same disguise of calling the  
Kings

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*Kings Friends, Papists*; and pretending that the *King* in his *Person* made War against his *Authority* in the *Lords and Commons*; and under that colour, representing themselves to be only upon the *Defensive*: In Vindicating that War (I say) which was a *Hellish Rebellion*, it is but Consonant to their Principles, to justify the same Proceedings over again, under the same Pretensions.

He says further in his other Speech, [*I never was engag'd in any manner of Plot or Conspiracy whatsoever in my life, against the Kings Person, Laws or Government, or know of any that is or was, the Papists only excepted----*It is utterly false that I was to have seiz'd the King, either at White-Hall or at Oxon; and I do here solemnly declare I knew not of so much as one single Person on Gods Earth that was, or would have stood by me in that Attempt.] And to the same effect he says over again in his last Speech.

I shall not force these words of his beyond a fair Congruity with the tenour of what he says in other places upon this subject; though the liberty he has taken throughout, of speaking more or less than the just & naked Truth, and wrapping himself up in Disguises and Reserves, so as best to serve his purpose, might justify me in the freedom of taking him at the worst, where there is any place for a double meaning. [*He never engag'd against the Kings Person* (he says, &c.) Did not that Parliament, whose Cause, Doctrine, & Proceedings, College has so highly approved, say the same thing? And not only Disclaim their being *AGAINST* the Person of the late King; but declare openly to the World, the greatest Tenderness and Veneration for him that was possible? What shall we say then of *him* that speaks *their very Words*, upon the same Grounds, and under the same Circumstances; but that he has the same Thoughts also (which he in truth Confesses too) with those, who under that pretence advanc'd a *Rebellion* against their *Sovereign*?

vereign? What does he mean again by saying that [*HE was not to have seiz'd the King, &c.*] Is it that *He himself* was not to do it with his *own hands*? Or that the *sovereignty* being lodg'd in the *Two Houses*, his *PERSON* might be *seiz'd*, and the *King* remain untouch'd? There is another Sentence in the same Speech, that speaks a little plainer yet. [*I did not understand (says he) but when I serv'd the Parliament, I serv'd the King too.*] Which in the Acceptation of *Forty and Forty-One*, sounds as much as *King and Parliament* on the one side, in opposition to *Charles Stuart* on the other.

Now as to the Plot of Seizing the Person of the *King*, if the Witnesses had not made it out accordingly to the very *Letter*, I should rather have suspected a design under the countenance of *Loyal Service*, to interpose a *Force* betwixt his *Majesty* and *some Pretended Danger*. And this officious zeal to be follow'd with seizing half a dozen (perhaps) of his Majesties most necessary *Ministers* and *Friends*. And then a Proclamation immediately of some damned Hellish Plot; a parcel of good Statutable *Knights of the Post* to make it good, and there had been the work done. This would have been no Ridiculous thing to imagine, if his Majesty had not had over and above his *Guards*, the *Honour* and *Fidelity* of the *Two Houses* for his *Security*.

There are a great many slippery Passages in *Colleges two Speeches* [*Had the Papists (says he) or their Party offer'd to destroy the Parliament, as was sworn, and fear'd they would, I was there to have liv'd and dy'd with 'em.*]

Here's a Disjunction of the *Papists*, OR their *Party*; which I cannot tell what to make of, unless he rings the Servants of the *King*, and the *Church* in a Confederate subserviency to the *Papists*, which is but consonant to what he has said elsewhere. There is a doubtful Clause too in his

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his last Speech [*Men* (says he, speaking of the *Presbyterians*) *without any manner of design; but to serve God, serve his Majesty, and keep their Liberties and Properties.*] Now *Colleges* way of keeping his Property, is to Fight for't, in case the King should *Inva*de it, as he profess'd to a Divine a little before his Execution: Beside that the word [*KEEP*] seems to lean a little that way, especially from a man that first supposes his Property to be *Inva*ded; and then declares his resolution to resist the King, in case of such *Inva*sion.

We shall now as briefly as may be, apply matter of *Fact* to the Capital parts of his *Charge*. The *Designing* of the Sculpture to his *Raree-Show* is prov'd upon him so point blank, that he himself had not the face to deny it: And that *Draught* made him as *Guilty of*, and as *Answerable for* the *Malicious intent of it*, as if the *Ballad* had been originally his own: His *Publishing* of it was a further *Aggravation* of the Crime; and the Pleasure he took in *Singing* it up and down (as he did to several eminent Persons of quality) and in *Exposing* it, made all that was in it his own too. In that *Dog*grel *Copy* there is Chalk'd out the very *Train* of the whole *Conspiracy*; and so plainly too, that it will not bear any other *Construction*: As for Example.

*Help Cooper, Hughs and Snow, with a Hey, with a Hey,  
To pull down Raree-Show, with a Ho.*

*So, so, the Gyant's down,*

*Let's Masters out of Pound,*

*With a Hey Tronny Nony Nony No.*

Here's first the King to be pull'd down (under the *Raree-show*) and *Cooper, Hughs* and *Snow* (being Officers belonging to both Houses) are to represent the *Lords and Commons* in the *doing* of it; which reflects as odious a scandal upon

upon the *Two Houses* as upon his *Majesty*. In the next place he supposes the *King* to be *down*; and to answer that phanſie, there are three Fellows in the *Plate*, lugging of him in the *Dirt*: And then follows [*Let's Masters out of Pound*:] which is only to ſay, That now the *King* is *down*, the *Lords and Commons* are to take upon them the Administration of the *Government*. But let us ſee how he goes on.

*And now y'ave freed the Nation, with a Hey, &c.  
Cram in the Convocation, with a Ho ;  
With Pensioners, All and ſome  
Into this Cheſt of Rome,  
With a Hey, &c.*

The *first line* here makes the *Freedom* of the *Nation* to enſue upon the *Depoſing* of the *King*. The *second* ſends the *Convocation* after him. The *third*, all thoſe whom he is pleas'd to call *Pensioners*: And the *fourth* makes them all to be *Papiſts*. Here's the *King*, the *Convocation*, and the *Pensioners* gone already. Now ſee what's next.

*And thruſt in Six and twenty, with a Hey, &c.  
With Not Guilty, good plenty, with a Ho :  
And Hoot them hence away,  
To Cullen or Breda :*

We have here the very *Track* of the *Conſpiracy*, as it was prov'd at his *Tryal*. The *Biſhops* are to be diſpatch'd away too, and the *Not Guilty-Lords*, in the *Vote* upon my Lord *Stafford*. And at beſt, to be all of them driven out of the *Nation*, as the *Late King* was, and a great part of his *Adherents*. We ſhall now conclude this point with the two laſt lines :

*Halløe, the Hunts begun, with a Hey, &c.  
Like Father, like Son, with a Ho, &c.*



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I have in my hand the *Manuscript* of Colleges own writing, from whence this Ballad was Printed; where it is to be noted, that instead of *Halloe*, it was in the Original, *Stand to't*; but *that struck out*, and *Halloe interlin'd* in the place of it; the other being too broad a discovery of the Violence they intended. Let me further observe, that this Song was Calculated for *Oxford*; that is to say, both for the *Time*, and the *Place*, *When*, and *Where* this Exploit was to have been executed. And now for a close; What can be the meaning of *Like Father, like Son*, but a *design* and *encouragement* (as appears from the Connexion) to serve them *both alike*; and to conclude both *Father* and *Son*, under one and the same *Condemnation*.

The Faction did, without dispute, flatter themselves that they should find Friends, even in the Parliament itself, to Authorize them in their Enterprize; (but they were egregiously mistaken it seems in their measures.) And they grounded their Hopes upon the Interest they had made in most places of the Kingdom to secure an Election for their turn. This Prospect and Confidence does most notoriously appear in the contrivance of the *Raree-Show*, which in truth looks liker a Song of *Triumph*, as for a thing *already done*, then a bare *Project* and *Exhortation* toward the doing of it: Insomuch that they have in this Ballad delineated the very *Scheme* of their Intentions. It is a thing very remarkable too, that the same Pulse bears still in all their Pamphlets of Appeal to the Multitude; which speaks them clearly to be animated with the same soul, and directed to the same end. As *Vox Patrie* for the purpose, (among forty others,) What is it, but under the Notion of *Petitions* and *Addresses*, in the name of the people of *England*, a certain *Compendium* of Instruction toward the Forming and carrying on of a *Conspiracy*? This Libel lays out the very Model of the Plot, for which Col-  
lege

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lege was Try'd, Condemn'd, and Executed. It prescribes the Removal of Counsellors and Officers, the ordering of the Militia, the Retrenching the Power of the King, the Dissolving the Order of the Church, the setting all sorts of Heretiques at liberty, the Calling and Continuing of Parliaments at the Peoples pleasure. And all this Address'd to the Commons in Parliament in such a manner; as if his Majesty were scarce worth Consulting upon the matter; only instead of *Seizing the King*, and Governing without him, they have found out a way of giving their Representatives some blind and general hints of what they would be at; and then honestly tell them, that *they'l stand by them with their Lives and Fortunes, let them do what they please.*

It is also a further Confirmation of this Plot, the Correspondence betwixt Mr. Fitz-Harris's Declaration, and the several Points given in Evidence against College.

Mr. Fitz-Harris declar'd that there was a design to Seize the King. Of this he spake often, and said, when the Party had Seiz'd the King, they would have oblig'd him to call a Parliament, which should sit until the Bill of Exclusion against the Duke were pass'd; all evil Counsellors remov'd, and men of their Chusing put into places of Trust; the Militia settled, and the Navy put into Good hands; all Grievances Redress'd; and all things order'd to their own liking. And had this Design succeeded, he said the Bishops and others of the Clergy would have suffer'd severely. (Dr. Hawkins's Narrative, pag. 4.)

This Account of a Combination does not onely Nick the several parts of the Evidence against College, but it does most exactly answer the Method of One and forty, which College justifies; and consequently approves of the same thing over again in so doing.

Now Mr. Fitz-Harris being demanded as a Dying man, whether this that he had declared concerning the Design to seize

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*seize the King were true. ; He call'd God to witness that it was every word true.*

And does not the Information against *George Wetheridge*, taken September 21. 1681. speak as home to the same effect?

*Is not the tyde strangely turn'd (says he) Were not the Parliament-men at Oxford, and those that were with'em; (being to the number of 40000 men Arm'd) great Fools that they did not seize the King there? And if that they had wanted strength (says he) I would have been one to have assisted them: And that they should have brought the King to London, to Guild-Hall; and there the Parliament should have sat, and have kept his Majesty there till they had made their own Terms with him. And the same Information adds further, that Wetheridge said the King was a Papist; and had a design to bring in Popery and Arbitrary Power, and Reign as the King of France, &c.] To multiply Instances would be to over-do the thing that I pretend to, wherefore this shall suffice.*

If I were bent upon unnecessary Cavils, I might enlarge my self abundantly in farther Observations upon the Insincerity both of *College* himself, & some of his Evidence, and prove that one of his prime Compurgators (how honest a man soever he reputed him in the Court) has more than once declar'd what warnings he had given him to have a care of his Tongue; and that he talk'd at such a desperate rate, that it was not safe for any man to keep him company. *Colleges dying words are, that he rode his own Horse, spent his own Money, and neither was invited, or had dependency on any person what soever: When yet the people of the Red Lyon in Henly do affirm, that he and a Companion of his drank one quart of raw Sack, one of Mull'd, one of Butter'd, and then a Pint more of the last; beside one Quart of Butter'd Sack in the Morning, which*

was all plac'd to the Account of another Person. It will not become me to descant upon any Inconsistencies among *Colleges Evidences* at his Tryal, out of the Respect and Veneration that I both owe, and bear to the Honour of the Court, and to the Methods of publique Justice: I could otherwise in the case of *Lum*, and even of *Dr. Oats himself*, find Mr. *Colleges* Advocates picking-work. Nay they were so hard put to't, that they brake in upon Justice *Warcup* himself; a person that has been, even by themselves celebrated all along, for his zeal in the Discovery of the Horrid Plot; a person particularly Interest-ed by the Lords, in several Examinations; and by their Lordships particularly recommended to the King for his Faith and Seduliry in that great affair. But these people understand no other measures of Honesty, then as it squares with their designs. As to *Turberville* and *Dugdale* (the two principal Evidences) *College* himself had very little to say against them.

In one word, the matter is here plainly and nakedly set forth. The *Protestant Foyner* has left the World wholly at a loss for his *Religion*: He has both in his *Words* and *Practices* declar'd himself a deadly Enemy to the Government. His *last Speech* is a Compound of *Equivocations* and *Disguise*: He Justifies those that destroy'd the *Late King*; and by the same reason he may justify the same design upon *This*. To conclude, let the Reader judge upon what is here deliver'd, whether or no there was a Design against the King at *Oxford*; and how far *College* was engag'd in the *Conspiracy*.

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THE END.

